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ABSTRACT

One of 52 theoretical papers on school crime and its relation to poverty, this chapter examines the historical validity of two popular beliefs concerning the "crisis of discipline" in schools. One is that it is something special to this turbulent age, and the other is that school violence and crime have increased because we have relaxed our discipline. The authors conclude that, while it is probable that school violence and crime have increased in this century, the increase is not sufficient to warrant the conclusions that it has resulted from the relaxation of discipline. Until this century, schools have traditionally been places of violence--where teachers severely corporally punished their students, and where students frequently rose up in rebellion, riots, and mutinies. In comparison, this century has seen an incredible delimiting of severe corporal punishment (although it is still widely used), which has not been matched with an equally severe increase in school violence. (Author/HLF)

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CRIME AND PUNISHMENT IN THE SCHOOLING PROCESS: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

There are two popular beliefs concerning the "crisis of discipline" in our schools. One is that it is something special to this turbulent age, and the other is that school violence and crime have increased because we have relaxed our discipline. This paper examines the historical validity of these beliefs and concludes that, while it is probable that school violence and crime have increased in this century, the increase is not sufficient to warrant the conclusions that it has resulted from the relaxation of discipline. Until this century, our schools have traditionally been places of violence--where teachers severely corporally punished their students, and where students frequently rose up in rebellion, riots, and mutinies. In comparison, this century has seen an incredible delimiting of severe corporal punishment (although it is still widely used), which has not been matched with an equally severe increase in school violence.

Introduction

It is popularly believed today that the "crisis of discipline" in our schools is something special to this turbulent age. Michael Berger (1974) suggests that school violence is simply one manifestation of the modern violent urban society. Yet we must be aware that American society has been urbanized for at least a century and England has been urbanized at least since the beginning of the eighteenth century. Furthermore, it is not at all clear that the present time is generally any more violent or turbulent than other periods throughout history. In fact, there is a good chance that our age is less violent (Sagan, 1974) or at least no more violent than yesterday (Kirkham, Levy, & Grotty, 1970). Certainly, as far as our treatment of children is concerned, there is little doubt that they are subject to far less violence today than they were 100 years ago (DeMause, 1974; Sanders, 1970).

Berger (1974) advances another popular theory of the cause of school violence: that violence originates among those who have no stake in society and students are particularly prone to it because school systems typically punish them by fiat and deny their civil rights. The underlying assumption of this theory is that there is some kind of inherent relationship between the violent behavior of pupils and the disciplinary practices of the school.

It is our aim to shed light from a historical point of view on both these assumptions. We recognize that such an investigation is fraught with great difficulty, mainly because of the paucity of data. For example, in 1974-1975 the New York City school budget allocated 8.4 million dollars for security systems. Why? In 1972, there were 541 reported attacks on school teachers, an increase from 285 such attacks in 1971, and, in Detroit, an average of 25 assaults on teachers were reported every month (National Schools Public Relations Association, 1973). Such data, even though limited by today's standards as crime statistics go, are simply not available in the historical materials we have investigated, which include school district reports, circulars, reports of special commissions, and so on. Data such as these were not systematically collected even 20 years ago; schools or teachers (or students) were simply not asked to report assaults, attacks, or crimes. Thus, in our search for historical material on violence, we were limited to the collection of anecdotal material. The fact that the incidence of violence would therefore appear low does not mean that the incidence of violence today is higher. It may mean that violence is observed and reported more today than in earlier times.

A further difficulty is the changing definition of what a school is over a long historical period. It was

our interest in this paper to study crime and punishment in elementary and secondary schools, as opposed to institutions of higher learning, since we wished to avoid getting too much into the area of student movements and protests, about which much has recently been written. However, the difficulty is that 100 years ago, and certainly before that time, the age range of students at universities was very broad, and many younger adolescents were know to attend. Therefore, we have considered it reasonable to include material, where it seemed appropriate, that related to institutions of higher learning in the earlier periods of history.

Finally, in our survey of crime and punishment in the schooling process, we will go beyond the United States, since schools existed in Europe much earlier.

Early School Crimes and Their Punishments

As a preliminary comment, it is important to note that the treatment of children in school is closely tied to the evolution of children's treatment in the family. The teacher obtains his right to punish a student on the basis of the common law doctrine in loco parentis. Therefore, what is common practice in a society as far as the way parents deal with their children is concerned, may be presumed with some certainty also to be common practice in the school.

Aries (1962), in what is probably the most influential and controversial work in the area of the evolution of childhood, argues that prior to the sixteenth century, children were not treated so much as children, but rather as little adults: "In medieval society, the idea of childhood did not exist," says Aries (p. 128). He enumerates many situations and occasions in which children "did not count." He shows that up until the seventeenth century, there was no clear distinction between children and adults in work, play, or dress. The evidence he uses to support this includes iconographic material of the time (there was an inability to represent the form of a child except in adult proportions) and the diary of Louis XIII's doctor, Heroard, who recorded the minute details of little Louis' life. While one can accept much of his evidence, Aries nevertheless overdraws his case. Louis was, after all, whipped most often for a variety of common domestic offenses (e.g., refusing to eat). He was even whipped on the day of his coronation (at age 8). He was also subject to the sexual abuse of adults, as DeMause (1974) points out. Children were still objects--either of pleasure, or of property. "Little ones" certainly did "not count," as Moliere observed (Aries, 1962, p. 128), since they could be sold off, abandoned, or killed, or simply because so many babies died from neglect or illness. The acceptance

of a very high infant mortality rate as a natural state of affairs would no doubt lead a parent to consider a very young child as a highly temporary member of the family. In addition, a child was easily replaceable. John Marshall gave up his son to King Stephen, saying he "cared little if William were hanged, for he had the anvils and hammers with which to forge still better sons" (Painter, 1933, p. 14).

While children may have joined in a much wider variety of society's activities prior to the seventeenth century, this does not mean that there was no distinction between child and adult. Children were the objects of punishment. If they were not being whipped by slaves as in Roman times, they were being whipped by parents who were the "slaves" of other punishing systems of religion or law. The sickest, and most telling, practice of all, which clearly demonstrates the intricate interrelationship between the two punishment systems, was the widespread practice in the seventeenth century of taking children to see hangings and gibbetted corpses and whipping them soundly on the site (Dunn, 1920, p. 300; DeMause, 1974, p. 561).

By the seventeenth century, there was a change in attitudes toward children. Religious doctrines of both Catholicism and Protestanism played an important part in the advance of two apparently conflicting images of the child: the child as innocent, but also the child as the

product of sin. Innocent children, simply because they lived, became sinful. They were the product of sex: when one came down to it, sinful. Thus, complete and tireless supervision and discipline became necessary. "I would rather have a dead son than a disobedient one," said Luther (DeMause, 1974, p. 533).

The principle of total supervision was introduced in Jesuit schools and soon spread to other schools. Also, until this time, serious offenders in Jesuit schools were "stripped in front of the whole community and beaten until they bled" (Aries, 1962, p. 260). This punishment was carried out by a special assistant (often an older student) called the corrector. A Jesuit father could not punish with his own hands. Later in the seventeenth century, as the idea of modesty developed, complete stripping of adolescents for whipping was not permitted.

The medieval school initially did not teach reading and writing. These were skills that were either taught at home, or, more likely, in apprenticeship. The medieval schools started with the teaching of Latin. They were basically there to satisfy ecclesiastical recruiting. Whipping became the main and central means of discipline. The school was organized around it, and this included college or university.

The Jesuits were quick to develop a highly formalized system of education, obsessed with supervising the details

of each student's daily life. They laid out a system of punishments which in 1598 were more or less copied into the code of conduct for the University of Paris (Aries, 1962). An older student was selected to administer the beating with either birch or cane. A system of informing was developed in the seventeenth century which extended the doctrine of eternal vigilance. If an informer failed to report an offense, he was punished as though he had committed the act. The spy system was extended to the streets as well as used within the schools. The monitor system was also introduced and, shrewdly, it was the elected monitor (called this time the excitor) who administered the whippings.

We should note that whipping was not a "scholastic punishment" until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Up until that time, it was administered only for acts of violence. But by the seventeenth century, it was a basic teaching aid. Thomas Platter complained, "My master used to beat me horribly; he used to seize me by the ears and lift me off the ground" (Aries, 1962, p. 190). It was well established that the child should be beaten harder if he screamed. Later, with the rise of Napoleon, the schools easily adapted to a militaristic model, and discipline, uniforms, toughness, drill routines, "captains," and "corporals" were all infused into the school systems of France and, in parallel fashion, of England, where the

concept stuck fast. Corporal punishment of school children was abolished in France in 1882. In England, it had just reached its zenith at that time and to this day is still widespread (Newell, 1972).

But it was not all one way. The history of schooling from the pupil's view, at least since the middle ages, is one of periodic turbulence, chaos, violence, rebellion, and poverty. If the masters kept the upper hand, they periodically paid for it; with reasonable cause, they insisted (as they do today) upon the use of corporal punishment to maintain order and to protect themselves.

Aries (1962) reports that in seventeenth-century France, a large number of students carried arms, and it was common to have to check them in when the students entered school. Armed revolts were common and masters literally feared for their lives. Students were by and large a fringe group. They subsisted by professionally begging and thieving. People were frightened to walk past schools for fear of being attacked. Duels were frequent, and later were institutionalized into the British system in the form of boxing and wrestling "grudge" matches.

In England, even in the selective and prestigious public schools, conditions were poor and the behavior of the students was nothing short of mutinous. The history of these schools during 1775-1836 reveals constant

mutinies, strikes, and violence, sometimes so severe that the masters had to call upon the military for assistance. According to Archer (1921), the moral atmosphere of the schools was terrible: "...there was neither influence to encourage good nor supervision to check evil" (p. 23). At Winchester, there were several mutinies between 1775-1793, (the most serious resulting because the boys were not allowed to attend a military band performance). For two days the boys held the college under a red flag, and the episode was only terminated by numerous expulsions (Archer, 1921). In 1818, at the same school, two companies of soldiers armed with bayonets were called in to control another mutiny.

At Rugby, in 1797, some boys who had been ordered to pay for damages they had done to a tradesman blew up the door of the headmaster's office and set fire to his books and to school desks. The boys then withdrew to an island in the nearby lake. Special constables were called in, who read the riot act and finally took the island by assault (Archer, 1921).

Eton suffered similar violent episodes. In fact George III routinely asked Eton boys, "Have you had a rebellion lately, eh, eh?" (Archer, 1921, p. 60). Headmaster Keate (1809-1834) had rotten eggs thrown at him on several occasions. (He dealt with it by expulsions and some 40 or 50 floggings of the culprits.)

According to one authority (Rogers, cited in Newell, 1972, p. 15), at the end of the eighteenth century at Eton, "the discipline...became very lax in spite of the frequent use of the birch, and under Dr. Foster...there was a revolt, the boys throwing their books into the Thames and marching away." Under Dr. Keate, there was an even larger revolt, with the whole school, led by the prefects, walking out for two days.

At Shrewsbury, 1798-1836, the headmaster had his windows broken on several occasions; at Rugby, there was drinking, gambling, and profanity. The last serious rebellion at a public school occurred at Marlborough in 1851. Archer (1921) ending his description of this period concluded that discipline was non-existent, and that the "external disorders were indicative of worse evils which rarely came to the knowledge of the staff" (p. 61).

Delinquency and Discipline in Colonial Schools

To the Puritan settlers, the education of their children was a vital responsibility. Children had to learn to read the laws of God and the community's rules of conduct and so be rescued from evil and gain salvation. In New England, schools were established soon after the founding of each colony (Cubberly, 1934). By 1647, Massachusetts required communities of a certain number of householders

to establish some schooling (Drury & Ray, 1972). Other New England colonies and Pennsylvania soon followed suit.

Because of their stern religious convictions, the Puritans were forthright in their attempts to educate. The principles of punishment were clear:

> He that spareth his rod hateth his son; but he that loveth him chastiseth him betimes. (Proverbs, xiii, 24)
>
> Foolishness is bound up in the heart of a child; but the rod of correction shall drive it far from him. (Proverbs, xxii, 15)

John Calvin's catechism of 1556 required children to know that should they be disobedient, "God will not only punish them with everlasting payne in the day of judgment, but he will execute also punishmente on their bodies here in thys worlde; eyther by shortnynge their life, eyther by procuring them a shameful death, either at the least a life most miserable" (Calvin, 1556).

Within a decade of their founding, all colonies passed laws demanding obedience by children to their parents. In Connecticut and Massachusetts, capital punishment was the penalty for filial disobedience (Bailyn, 1960). Coercion and repression characterized the Colonial schools, as it did all aspects of children's upbringing (Falk, 1941). Corporal punishment was routinely used, both for purposes of control and character regeneration. Textbooks inculcated

terror of a stern God, and repetitive drill was the method of instruction. Teachers were chosen for impeccable characters, rather than for any talent or enthusiasm for the position. Tenure was brief and salaries low (Cubberly, 1934).

We can see, then, that here, as well as in Europe, schools became reflections of the general status accorded to children and, in this instance, demonstrated the Puritan importance of unquestioned compliance to God-given authority and laws. There is little evidence of serious pupil misbehavior or violence during this early period. Apparently those children who did attend the schools were sufficiently receptive to the moral and social authority to be subdued by the austere regime.

Histories of early Harvard College (established in 1636) do reveal occasional misdemeanors, even violent incidents (Moore, 1972). They are, however, enlightening in their lack of seriousness, their rarity, and the insight they provide into the effectiveness of Puritan authority and reformatory discipline.

In 1645, Harvard students Ward and Welde were corporally punished for burglary. In 1672, student Thomas Sargeant was publicly whipped, suspended, and made to sit uncovered and alone at meals. His crime had been blasphemy. During the presidency of Chauncy, in 1655, the entire

student body "walked out" to protest the extension of the bachelor's degree residence requirement to four years. A second walkout occurred in November of 1674 in protest over Leonard Hoar's presidency (Moore, 1972).

Toward the end of the seventeenth century, greater prosperity in Massachusetts resulted in more students attending Harvard, especially "those who came to be made gentlemen, not to study" (Morison, 1937, p. 60). From this time, there were increasing debauchery, riots, petty thefts, burglary, and window breaking. Students were also disciplined for lack of piety, sexual indiscretion, and having long hair.

By the end of the Revolutionary period, all states had established some form of public school education, although schooling was still far less widespread in the South than in the North, despite the beginning of charity schools there. Private English schools catered to the new middle classes, supplementing the Latin schools and common schools established in the Colonial period.

Teaching methods continued to be geared to learning by rote. The process of schooling was apparently as aversive for some teachers as for the students, since between 1750 and 1770 numerous advertisements appeared offering rewards for "run away teachers" (Cubberly, 1934, p. 70). School buildings were inadequate, with little

heating or ventilation and few textbooks and blackboards (Cubberly, 1934).

Delinquency and Discipline in the Nineteenth-Century School

As the nineteenth century arrived, growing public concern about increased community vice, particularly among juveniles, surfaced. In 1791, 1821, and 1822, there were meetings of concerned citizens of Philadelphia to discuss the problem of teenage gangs. In 1805, the New York Society advocated the need for schools to overcome delinquency, saying:

> Children thus brought up in ignorance and amidst the contagion of bad example, are in imminent danger of ruin; and too many of them, it is to be feared, instead of being useful members of the community will become the burden and pests of society. Early instruction and fixed habits of industry, decency, and order are the surest safeguards of virtuous conduct. (Bourne, 1870, cited in Cubberly, 1934, p. 131)

In North Carolina in 1857, the Hillsboro, North Carolina, Recorder for December 9 reported a youth being wounded by the accidental discharge of a pistol he was carrying. It was noted that "young Americans" should be warned to stop the increasingly noticed practice of carrying pistols (Sanders, 1970, p. 339).

In London, too, there was similar concern about juvenile delinquency. In 1815-1816, a survey there had

found an "alarming increase in crime, more especially amongst children and youth of both sexes" (Sanders, 1970, p. 102). This great concern with the delinquency of youth ushered in the nineteenth century, and this coincided with increasingly widespread provision of education for the masses, in both England and the United States. New techniques made it possible for educators to cope with many more pupils. Adoption of the monitorial Lancaster system enabled one teachers to deal with many children at one time. This enjoyed popularity in the United States between 1805 and 1830, and so for the first time a sizable proportion of school age children could gain at least nominal schooling. By 1840, it was no longer the exception for children to have formal schooling in New England. Compulsory education laws were enacted in the various states of the United States between 1865 and 1918 (in 1870 in England). The first high schools were opened in Boston for boys in 1821, and for girls in 1825. State secondary schooling received an impetus from the famous Kalamazoo case (1872) in which the court upheld the legality of local taxing to support high schools. By 1870, 57 percent of children in the United States aged between 5 and 18 were in school (Butts & Cremin, 1953).

By the end of the nineteenth century, there was a changing pattern of immigration, bringing many more children

of southern and eastern European (rather than British and northern European) settlers into the school system. Thus, the late nineteenth century was a period of rapid increase and change in education. More children were in school and for a longer time span; the children in school were, moreover, a much less homogenous group than had been the case in the earlier periods of American educational history. Foreign observers of American schools concluded that American youth were particularly difficult to discipline, being influenced by the society's egalitarian character.

Francis Grund, writing in 1837, complained:

> What difficulty has not an American teacher to maintain order amongst a dozen unruly urchins; while a German rules over 200 pupils in a class with all the ease and tranquility of an eastern monarch. There is little disposition on the part of the American children to obey the uncontrollable will of their masters as on the part of their fathers to submit to the mandates of kings. (p. 133)

Another visitor, this time a Scot, wrote in 1838:

> An American young man, in emerging from school, has scarcely formed a conception that he is subject to any natural laws which he must obey in every step of his progress in life, or suffer.... On the contrary, he comes forth a ffee self-willed, sanguine, confident citizen of which he considers to be the greatest, the best, and the wisest nation on earth, and he commences his career in life guided chiefly by the inspirations of his own good pleasure. (Combe, 1838, p. 235)

Existing reports indicate that schools were woefully inadequate in physical conditions, teaching methods, and discipline practices, and that they were, as a result, wild and unruly places. A Mr. Draper (Falk, 1941) described his nineteenth-century Massachusetts elementary school as consisting of four recitation rooms, each of which measured 14 x 10½ feet and contained more than 30 pupils without proper ventilation. As for the condition of those rooms:

> They are not altogether occupied or principally by neat, cleanly children; but by many of a different character. Let a person enter one of these rooms after it has been occupied for half an hour and his sense of smell, and taste even, will warn him to leave; and yet it is in these rooms that our children, many of them tender and delicate, are confined day after day. (p. 83)

The teachers who were required to teach in these debilitating conditions were poorly trained and paid, and most treated teaching as a stopgap occupation. The usual teaching method for dealing with the very large classes remained rote drill. Consequently, "...the school was of course something like the despotic government of a military camp. Infringements of the law and order were visited with quick retribution, and there was of necessity both harshness and severity in the government of a school" (McKeen, 1851, p. 124).

A Philadelphia committee had reported about conditions in that city in 1830: "The elementary schools throughout the state are irresponsible institutions--no supervision or effectual control can be exercised over them; hence, ignorance, inattention, and even immorality prevail to a lamentable extent among their teachers" (Cubberly, 1934, p. 160).

Cubberly (1934) wrote that "in these earlier days of 1830-1860, the ability to impose discipline on a poorly taught and in consequence an unruly school was an important part of the qualifications of a teacher" (p. 411). Teachers, in Boston at least, had an average of 60 pupils, ranging through six classes, crowded into poorly lit, poorly heated, ill-ventilated rooms. Attendance was poor, and truancy rife. There was no real curriculum, at any given time three-quarters of the children were not profitably employed. Consequently, there was considerable misbehavior, and excessive vigilance was required of teachers (Philbrick, 1874). Horace Mann (1843) observed that teachers were unable to look after several classes and "hence the idleness and disorder that reign in so many of our schools, excepting in cases where the debasing motive of fear puts the children in irons" (p. 84).

Fear was cultivated by an assortment of methods of corporal punishment. "A boy has a back; when you hit it

he understands" was a favorite pedagogical maxim of the time, according to Cubberly (1920, p. 455).

In 1830, a school master, Hauberle (1830), published a list of the punishments he had given in 51¼ years as a teacher. Included were 911,527 blows with a cane, 124,010 blows with a rod, 20,989 blows with a ruler, 136,715 blows with the hand, 12,235 blows on the mouth; 7,905 boxed ears, 1,115,800 raps on the head, 22,763 nota benes with Bible, grammar, or other books, 777 kneelings on peas, 1,707 instances of holding up the rod, 613 kneelings on a triangular block of wood.

Other writers mention dungeoning in windowless closets, tying children to chairs, ear twisting, etc. Girls were usually not exempt. Punishments were inflicted for failure to learn as well as for misbehavior, as teachers were often paid according to progress of their pupils.

Despite controversy and many social reforms, education lagged behind in protecting children from the violence of their schoolmasters. Corporal punishment in the United States Navy was abolished by an act of Congress in 1853--but, except for a handful of localities, it is still legal in American schools.

The prevalence of inordinate corporal punishment did not provide a panacea for school problems. American schools remained generally disorderly. Horace Mann

reported that nearly 400 schools in Massachusetts were broken up in 1837 because of disciplinary problems (Falk, 1941). On another occasion, Mann stated that, in one school of 250 pupils, he saw 328 separate floggings in one week of five school days, an average of over 65 floggings a day (Mann & Smith, 1847).

As more teachers became suitably qualified, the amount of corporal punishment may have decreased somewhat. In 1845, a New York report proudly claimed, "during the last year, no teacher has been arrested, dismissed or even reproved, for contusively lacerating or maiming his pupils, circumstances formerly of frequent occurrence; and it is affirmed with the utmost pleasure, that in this county, there is not one insubordinate school now" (Stevens, 1845, p. 172). It would appear that educators, in this country at least, perceived a direct relationship between the violence of teachers against students and the students' subsequent insubordination. The implicit theory, which was gradually to emerge in the twentieth century, had been anticipated: that less punishment (especially corporal punishment), not more, would bring about better and more obedient behavior in the schools.

But we may safely conclude that, by and large, for most of the nineteenth century, schools in the United States were chaotic places, with teachers attempting unsuccessfully

to maintain control over unmotivated, bored, unruly, and unmanageable children by disciplinary methods which were often novel, and more often brutal. Schools at this time were violent places, at least for the pupils.

In England, at the same time, the gradual extension of schools to serve a wider group of children was resulting in a similar increase in school disorder and misbehavior--and a similar controversy over dealing with such misconduct by corporal punishment. As early as 1669, a group of children had marched to Parliament and presented the Children's Petition, describing the sufferings (including the physical sufferings) of English schoolchildren. This had little effect, and 200 years later, in 1870, when compulsory school attendance became law, teachers and the public were still debating the merits of corporal punishment (Newell, 1972) to help educate the previously uneducated masses.

The Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury (Ashley-Cooper, 1847) described the new Ragged Schools:

> They are open to receive all those who are excluded from superior schools by the rules and regulations indispensable to their discipline. The decent apparel, the washed face, the orderly behavior, the attendance by day, the penny a week, amount to an interdict on their admission, were they even so disposed to the National and British Schools. (p. 127)

He then described the "tumultuous conduct" in most Ragged Schools in the large towns:

> The floors were sprinkled with blood, benches broken down, lesson boards torn asunder, the scholars tumbling over each other in wild confusion, the master with his clothes torn, teachers obliged to escape for their lives out of the windows, and over the roofs of houses--all these things have but afforded a type of moral chaos.... (p. 141)

In the 1870s, the London School Board had taken measures to limit the use of corporal punishment in its jurisdiction, but it ran into much opposition from teachers (and many parents), who cited the prevalent lying, truancy, stealing, foul language, and insubordination among schoolchildren (newly admitted into the schools because of the Elementary Education Act) as necessitating physical deterrents (Newell, 1972).

On October 6, 1889, the children entered the debate. A crowd of militant schoolboys from Kennington and Lambeth walked out of their schools and resolved not to return unless, among other demands, corporal punishment was abolished (Newell, 1972). Nothing came of the demonstration. Newell (1972) writes that, nearly 100 years later, widespread school violence by children is still evident, and that fact is still being used by teachers to oppose moves to abolish their ultimate deterrent, corporal punishment--itself a violent remedy.

American universities during the nineteenth century were also places of considerable turbulence, and it is of interest to note that the majority of disturbances arose over dissatisfaction with the quality of education, teaching methods, the curriculum, and so on. Between 1800 and 1830, Princeton had six major campus rebellions (Wallerstein, 1969); and in 1823 there were explosions triggered by students and riots which resulted in half the class being expelled. In the 1802 riots at Princeton, students set fire to Nassau Hall, completely destroying the library; and in 1814 they set ablaze a number of outbuildings in protest against the system of instruction (Rosenthal, 1971). Many strikes, riots, and assaults occurred on non-Ivy-League campuses right up until 1900. At the University of Virginia, violence "reached a crescendo during the 1830's and 1840's, and before [it] died down, a professor had been killed and armed constables had to be brought on to the campus" (Rosenthal, 1971, p. 5).

Some writers on the history of student protest have argued that the student violence of the nineteenth century was distinctly different from that of the twentieth century in that it was nonideological (e.g., Rosenthal, 1971; Feuer, 1969). Rather, it was directed toward increasingly outmoded, inappropriate educational systems and methods of instruction. From our review of elementary and high schools of the same

period, it would seem that the same explanation applied: there was a direct relationship between poor educational methods and student misbehavior. Was the twentieth century to be any different?

Early Twentieth Century

The early twentieth century in America was characterized by a tremendous increase in immigration, in heterogeneity of the society, and in the prevalence and length of schooling. Falk (1941) states that high school enrollment increased eightfold; and college enrollment fivefold. Secondary schooling (often prolonged) was no longer just for the select few who were academically interested and able, and the schools became more or less a cross section of the American society. In 1918, 75 percent of American children aged 5 to 18 were attending school, including 20 percent of Black children (Butts & Cremin, 1953). Dramatic changes in the population served by secondary schools led to changes in the problems faced by those schools. According to the NEA 1928 yearbook, "these problems relate not only to curriculums and courses of study, but also to discipline, manners and morals" (Cubberley, 1934, p. 466).

New York City witnessed one such confrontation between educational innovation and the traditional social order. In 1914, the Gary, Indiana, platoon system was introduced

into New York City schools as a means of dealing with increased school enrollments and better utilizing educational facilities at no extra cost (Mohl, 1975). It was evidently too radical a change for the citizens (many of them immigrants), and their anxiety was capitalized upon by political candidates. By 1917, the schools were embroiled in a series of violent demonstrations against the Gary Plan. Between 1000 and 3000 schoolchildren (mostly Jewish) gathered on the Upper East Side around P. S. 171 (Madison Avenue and 103rd Street), picketed and stoned the school, beat those students who did not join the strike, and burned their schoolbooks. Police broke up the demonstration, but the crowds reassembled later and disorder spread to nearby schools. Stones were thrown, windows were broken, and 14 child ringleaders were arrested (New York Times, 1917, October 17). The rioting spread to the Bronx and to the Brownsville and Williamsburg sections of Brooklyn on the following day, with mobs of more than 5,000 student demonstrators at each site, who engaged in pitched battles with police. Police guards were posted around all Bronx schools and 16 Brooklyn schools.

The disorder, insubordination, and violence in New York and in other American cities necessitated debate about the form of education best suited to imposing order and simultaneously meeting the changed needs of both the

pupils and society. Dewey (1933) wrote that the role of education was to free minds and enable people to cope with an emergent society.

Nevertheless, adult violence (albeit controlled) to deal with child violence has remained the preferred method in American schools. Corporal punishment is banned in only a handful of states and localities (by far the earliest to ban it was New Jersey, in 1866) and its legality was reaffirmed by the United States Supreme Court in April 1977. Teachers gain their authority in loco parentis, and American society condones the physical assertion of authority by parents (Gil, 1970). The right of teachers in loco parentis to use corporal punishment has been consistently upheld in the courts. In 1923, one court defended its ruling with the implication that a teacher's authority should be as unquestioned as a king's:

> A teacher must be in authority, and have control in a school. If not, there would be no school. Many years ago, a learned and judicious school master said to Charles II in the plenitude of his power: "Sire, pull off thy hat in my school, for if my scholars discover that the king is above me in authority, they will no longer respect me." And the king pulled off his hat, to demonstrate by example that the school master's authority should be respected even by a king. (People v. Petrie, 1923 in Faulkner, 1967, p. 81).

Conclusions

Although we are faced with the disturbing statistics of current school violence, the evidence available to us suggests that it is not much more serious today than it was in previous centuries, when teachers were commonly attacked and, in one case, killed. The considerable violence that occurred in nineteenth-century universities was perpetrated by students who were probably about the same age as present-day high school juniors and seniors. It is significant that student protests in the nineteenth century revolved around "bread and butter" issues, such as instructional methods and the curriculum. They were not predominantly social or ideological protests like those that characterized the university-student movements of the 1930s and 1960s (Rosenthal, 1971).

It would seem moreover, that the rigidity, sternness, and violence of various educational systems have not averted the insubordination of their students. On the contrary, this very issue has been the cause of bitter protest on the part of the students when they rose up in rebellion.

There is little doubt that caning is now used much less, but corporal punishment remains widespread. Most school districts have rules governing the application of corporal punishment, so that its unmitigated use, which

occurred in earlier centuries, has been virtually eliminated. Since apparently the amount of student violence has not correspondingly decreased, we must look elsewhere for an explanation. Apparently there is not a direct causal relationship between violent and unruly behavior of pupils and violence by school authorities.

Our general conclusion, then, is that there has always been a "crisis of discipline" in schools--or at least since the middle ages, when the concept of childhood emerged and children came to be seen as a class separate from adults. This attitude developed more and more over the centuries, with teachers resorting to ingenious physical humiliations and punishments to assert their own status. The most visible and serious crises in the schools occurred side by side with massive use of corporal punishment, insistence upon immediate obedience, maintenance of rigid rules, and learning endless material by rote. Since the nineteenth century, we have slowly limited the use of corporal punishment and loosened the rules of school behavior. But we have simultaneously moved to keep children as children for a much longer period than ever before--for many, for at least a third of their lives. It seems predictable that the crises of authority--adult vs. child, parent vs. child, teacher vs. pupil--will become even more accentuated.

Thus, despite liberalization of school discipline, school violence continues--in street gangs after school; in organized strikes in school; in massive, sullen resistance to learning; and in individual children taking vengeance on the school by arson or vandalism for dealing with them as children, for forcing them to obey and to learn. Yet this is surely a reasonable "oppression" when one considers the terrible manner in which children were exploited when they were treated as adults.

So what should we do? We should learn to live with the "crisis." Like crime, illness, and pollution, it is part of the social order. But this does not mean that progress cannot be made. In fact, one is forced to conclude that considerable progress has already been made. A marked decrease in the use of abusive corporal punishment and often debilitating methods of treating children in schools has not been accompanied by a serious increase in violence from a broad historical view.

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